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ETYMOLOGIES.¹

1. Goth. **ans*, dat. *anza*, 'beam,' ON. *áss*: Lat. *ēnsis*, Skt. *asīṣ*, 'sword.' The Germ. word is nearer the primary meaning. This was probably 'shaft, stick,' and from this could easily develop 'spear, brand, sword,' which signification was certainly not original. In formation the words are not just the same, and here too the Lat. and Skt. are secondary, the stem being **nsí-*, Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 407. The ON. *áss*, dat. *āse*, and the Finn. loanword *ansas* point to a stem **ónso-*, while Goth. *anza* speaks for **onsó-*.

2. MHG. *īchen* 'measure off, gauge,' *īche*, *īch* 'measure,' LG. *īke* 'instrument for stamping, any sharp tool, lance' probably belong to the same root as in OHG. *eih*, OE. *āc*, ON. *eik* 'oak.' If this connection is correct, Germ. **ikō-* was primarily 'shaft, lance' from the oak, and secondarily 'shaft, measuringstick,' and then 'measure' of any kind; or else we have the development 'shaft, lance, sharp instrument.' Compare the similar change in OHG. *gerta* 'staff, stick,' OE. *gyrd* 'stick, rod': and then 'measure, yard'; also in such words as Eng. *rod*, *pole*, etc. Again 'shaft, lance' are connected with various words for 'tree,' as: Gk. *δρῦς* 'oak, tree': *δόρυ* 'beam, spear'; MHG. *asch* 'ash': 'spear'; OHG. *eih* 'oak': Gk. *αἰγανήν* 'lance.' In view of such comparisons, and especially of the last one, for which cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb** s. v. *Eiche*, and to which we may add LG. *īke* 'lance,' we may safely make the connection given above.

¹ The etymologies here given are not arranged in order except as they are grouped to illustrate some phonetic law or similar semasiological development. As I have not had access to any large library while preparing this paper, it is quite possible that, in one or two cases, I may have given as my own discovery what should have been credited to another. If so, let the credit go to whom it belongs.

3. Goth. *ufta*, OHG. *ofto*, OS. *ofto*, *oft*, OE. *oft*, ON. *opt* 'oft, often' presuppose a pre-Germ. stem **upto-*, **upto-n-*. This is an adj. stem **up-to-*, the base of which is Goth. *uf*, Gk. *ὑπό*, Skt. *úpa*, etc. Notice especially the Skt. *úpa* 'unto, toward, near.' For the stem **upto-* we may assume the meaning 'near, close.' From this easily develops 'often.' For a similar development compare Lith. *tánkus* 'close': *tánkei* 'often'; MHG. *dih̄te* 'close, thick': *ge-dih̄te* 'frequently'; MHG. *dicke* 'thick': 'often'; Lat. *densus* 'dense': 'frequent,' etc. The meaning 'often' could therefore attach itself very easily to the stem *upto-* provided it had originally the signification I have assumed, and this assumption is certainly justifiable.

4. A root *uē-*, *uō-* occurs in Gk. *ἄωπος* 'weariness, sleep,' OHG. *wuorag* 'intoxicated,' OS. *wōrag*, OE. *wērig* 'weary,' Gk. *ἄωρέω* 'sleep,' Skt. *abhi-vātas* 'tired,' *vāyati* 'get tired,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ἄωπος*. This root is the same as *uē-*, *uē-* 'blow,' which, as I have elsewhere stated, (cf. Jour. Germ. Ph. I, 302) 'expressed the waving motion caused by the wind.' That is, when the proethnic man said *uēti*, he was describing the effect of the wind—'it waves.' So this root *uē-* to be weary, sleepy, intoxicated' meant simply 'to nod, waver, be unsteady.' For a similar development in meaning compare Lat. *labō* 'totter': Goth. *slēpan* 'sleep'; OE. *drēosan* 'fall, sink': *drūsian* 'drowse.'

5. OHG. *wisa* 'meadow,' ON. *veisa* 'pool,' OE. *wās* 'moisture', Eng. *woosy* 'wet' (obs.) are not traced by Kluge to any IE. root. They belong, in all probability, to the root *uis-* in Lat. *vīrus* 'slimy liquid, slime, poison,' Gk. *ῥός* 'poison,' properly 'a thick fluid' as is evident from Pindar O. 6, 79, who calls honey *ῥός ἀμεμφής*, Skt. *viṣá-* 'poison, water.' It is plain to be seen that 'poison' was not the original signification of this root, but rather 'moisture, slime,' since this is the common meaning from which the entire group may come. To the same root have been referred ON. *visna*, OHG. *wesanēn* 'wilt.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ῥός*, and Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *verwesen*. Perhaps the common meaning from which these various significations come is 'sink, be soft.'

6. For Goth. *hōlōn* 'deceive,' OHG. *huolian* 'cheat' connection has been assumed with Gk. *κηλέω* 'charm, beguile,' and with Lat. *calumniā*, cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *hōlōn*. No fault can be found with this derivation, and yet it is not certain, since another connection may be made which is equally probable, viz., with the root *kel-* 'conceal.' This root is widely represented in Germ., and for that reason there is the greater probability for the connection of *hōlōn* therewith. The development in meaning is certainly natural, and quite like that of Goth. *liugan* 'deceive,' from the root *leugh-* 'hide.' The pre-Germ. stem **kōlā-* may be directly compared with **kēlā-* in Lat. *cēlā-re*.

7. For Goth. *and-hruskan* 'to inquire' ON. *horskr* 'wise,' OE., OHG, *horsc* 'wise, quick' several etymologies have been proposed. For some of these compare Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 240, 1037; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *and-hruskan*; Noreen, *Urg. Lautl.* 98.

Another possibility, and one too that gives no phonetic difficulty, is to connect these words with Lat. *currō*. OE. *horsc* 'quick' preserves the primary meaning of the word. The stem was **kysko-* from the root *kys. kers-*. The same root, according to Noreen, *Urg. Lautl.*, is in MHG. *hurren* 'to hurry.'

8. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵ s. v. *Kraft*, gives the following words: OHG. *kraft* 'power, force, fulness,' OS. *craft*, OE. *cræft* 'power, craft,' ON. *kraptr* 'power,' Icel. *kræfr* 'strong.' To these are added ON. *krefja*, OE. *crasian* 'crave, beg,' with a doubt expressed as to their connection with the foregoing.

I think I can make it probable not only that *crave* and *craft* are related, but that both are cognate with Gk. *βρέφος* 'fetus,' OHG. *kropf* 'crop.' The base upon which these several words are built is *g^{*}er-bho-*, from the root *g^{*}er-* 'swell, fill.' Cf. author, *AJP.* 19, 47. The root-meaning swell readily gives all the significations of this group. Compare the similar development of the root *kēu-* 'swell': Skt. *ṣvayati* 'swells,' Gk. *κνέω* 'am pregnant,' *κύμα* 'wave, fetus' ('swelling'), Skt. *śāvas* 'strength,' Lat. *queō* 'am

able,' Gk. *κῦρος* 'power.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *κνέω*. Compare further Gk. *σπαργάω* 'swell, be full, ripe; be pregnant; swell with desire.' Such examples show how easily *crave*, *craft*, *crop* and their cognates may come from the root-meaning 'swell.' To 'crave' is to 'have a swelling desire'; 'craft' has developed through 'swelling,' 'bigness,' 'power,' etc.; and 'crop' is a 'swelling' in its literal sense. For connection of OHG. *kropf*, Gk. *βρέφος*, compare Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 590.

Exactly the same development in meaning is seen in Goth. *magan* 'can, be able,' *mahts* 'power': OHG. *mago*, OE. *maga* 'maw, stomach.' This connection is suggested by Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵ s. v. *Magen*, but with disapproval. With Goth. *magan* Uhlenbeck and Prellwitz, in their *Et. Wtb.*, compare Gk. *μῆχος* 'means,' *μηχανή* 'tool, artifice,' Goth. *magus* 'boy,' *mēgs* 'son-in-law.' The root-meaning of this group was 'to be big,' and hence denoted power, ability or size, growth. The coincidences in the development of this root and of the one above are quite striking. Notice these parallels: OHG. *kropf*: *mago*; Gk. *βρέφος*: Goth. *magus*; OE. *cræft*, MnE. *craft*: Gk. *μηχανή*; OHG. *kraft*: Goth. *mahts*.

The development in meaning in the two sets of words is so easily explained from the assumed primary meaning of their roots that the connection in each group can hardly be doubted.

9. Goth. *mammō* 'flesh' is, according to Uhlenbeck, 'unerklärt.' In the same line he adds: 'Vgl. *mimz*.' We will therefore compare *mammō* and *mimz* and show that they contain the same root. Goth. *mimz*, Skt. *māsā-*, IE. **mē-msó-* I had explained as a reduplicated stem, *Jour. Germ. Ph.* I, 299, and discovered later that the same explanation is given by Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 347, who starts from IE. **més-*, Skt. *mās*, Lith. *mėsà* 'flesh.' This stem *mēs-*, with the ablaut **mōs-*, is contained in Goth. *mammō* < **maz-mō* < **mos-mō-n-*.¹ These words may further be referred to the root *mē-* 'cut,' so that **mē-msó-* and

¹ For *mm* < *zm-* < *sm-*, cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 779.

**mos-mō-* may be regarded as the repetition of this root *mē-*, *mō-* with its outgrowth *mēs-*, *mōs-*. The same root is also in Gk. μέσ-κος 'hide,' ἄσκος < **nskos* 'hide,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. ἄσκος.

10. OHG., OS. *meldōn*, OE. *meldian* 'announce, betray' come from the Germ. root *melp-*, which Kluge refers to an unfound IE. root *melt-*, *mel-* 'betray.' It will not be difficult to find a root *mēl-* if we do not insist upon giving it the meaning 'betray.' The meaning 'betray, announce' may well come from an original 'mark,' 'point out,' 'indicate.' In fact, if we find this root *mēl-* in any signification that could give OHG. *meldōn*, we may safely regard it as the root sought. This root *mēl-* occurs in Goth. *mēljan* 'write,' OHG. *mālōn*, *mālēn* 'paint, draw,' primarily 'to mark.' The development in meaning is similar to that in Ger. *zeichnen*: *bezeichnen*, in which the literal force of the latter word is lost sight of.

11. Germ. **panhōn-* 'clay,' Goth. *pāhō*, etc. is a good example of how little importance should be attached to the present meaning of a word in looking for its origin. For the pre-Germ. form of this word we may assume **tónqā-n-*. This we may suppose was a substantivized adjective (hence an *n*-stem) descriptive of the particular kind of soil. Clay when wet is an uncommonly sticky soil. A natural term for it was therefore a word denoting stickiness, as in OE. *clæg*, *clām* 'clay' from the IE. root *glei-* in OChSl. *glina* 'clay,' *glěnū* 'slime,' Gk. γλία 'glue,' γλοιός 'any sticky substance,' etc. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *Klei*.

But clay may be designated from another quality—that of hardness, stiffness, compactness. Our adj. **tónqo-*, *-ā-*, as will be seen, had this very meaning. Nearest related are Lith. *tānkus* 'compact, close,' Av. *taxma-* 'strong,' superl. *tančišta-*, Arm. *t'anjr* 'close, compact.' Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I, 479. These belong to the root *tenq-*, *tonq-* of Lith. *tenkū* 'suffice,' Goth. *peihan* 'thrive,' OHG. *dihan*, etc., MHG. *dihite*, NHG. *dicht*, Eng. *tight*.

Probably the reason why this connection has not been made before—for it seems to me a most obvious and

natural one—is because Goth. *peihan* had already been referred to the root *teng-*, and it seemed impossible to connect a word for ‘clay’ with one for ‘thrive.’ Etymologists seem to forget that the significations *b, c, d* may be entirely distinct from each other and yet easily derivable from a common meaning *a*. Cf. also Fick, *VWb.*⁴, I, 442.

12. Goth. *saupa* ‘reason, λόγος’ is nothing more nor less than the fem. to the same stem as in *saups* ‘sacrifice.’ These words come from a root *syet-, seyt-* ‘boil, bubble up,’ contained in OHG. *swedan, siodan*, etc. The primary signification was not ‘heat,’ but ‘bubbling, springing up.’ Hence from this root could come a word for ‘spring, fountain,’ or ‘a seething, boiling.’ The latter meaning gives Goth. *saups* ‘sacrifice,’ the former OGotn. *saupr* ‘fountain.’ The fem. to this is Goth. *saupa*, primarily ‘fountain, spring, source,’ and then, like all words for ‘spring, source,’ meaning secondarily ‘cause, reason, origin.’

The root *syet-, seyt-* is probably an extension of *seyo-, sǣ-* ‘flow’: OHG. *sou*, Lith. *syvas* ‘sap,’ Skt. *sava-m* ‘sap or honey from flowers,’ *sōma-s* ‘Soma,’ etc. Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ὑετός*.

13. The unexplained Goth. *sifan* ‘exult, rejoice’ is perhaps connected with OE. *sefa* ‘mind, mood, spirit.’ The common meaning from which these could come would be ‘to be active, to leap up.’ The IE. root *sep-* with this force is found in Skt. *sāpati* ‘to be busied about, care for,’ Gk. *ἐπω* ‘care for, prepare,’ *ἐψω* ‘boil,’ Arm. *epem* ‘boil.’ Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 1021. ‘To boil’ and ‘to exult’ are both connected with the idea of motion, activity, and a word for ‘mind’ readily comes from this also. Compare Gk. *θῦμός* ‘mind’: Skt. *dhññōti* ‘shake, move’; Goth. *saiwala* ‘soul’: OPrus. *seilin* ‘exertion, zeal.’

14. Goth., OE., OS. *ūt*, OHG. *ūz* ‘out’ are compared with Skt. *ud-* ‘up from, out,’ OIr. *ud*, etc. This prefix is simply the ‘schwundstufe’ of the root *yed-*, in Skt. *undtti* ‘spring up, bubble up, flow,’ and secondarily ‘wet,’ *udán-* ‘water,’ Lat. *unda*, Goth. *wato*, etc. This development is

so natural that it requires no other proof than to call attention to this relation. The root *ued-* occurs also in Skt. *vādati* 'speak,' i. e., 'utter.' I see no reason for separating this *ued-* from the other. The meaning in each comes readily from the force of the particle *ud-*.

15a. As Goth. *ūt* is connected with the root *ued-* 'spring up,' so Goth. *us* 'out' may be from a root *ues-* 'spring forth, rise.' This I take to be the original meaning of *ues-* in Skt. *vas-* 'to dawn,' *vasar-han* 'striking at dawn,' *vasantās* 'spring,' Gk. *ēap* 'spring,' Lith. *vasarà* 'summer,' OChSl. *vesna* 'spring.' Certainly the meaning 'spring forth, rise' best explains the various significations of this group of words. It is an easy development from 'rise' to 'dawn,' and then to 'grow bright, shine.' And naturally the place of rising is the 'orient, east.' The word for 'spring' may be explained like Eng. *spring* as 'the season when vegetation springs up.'

b. With *ues-* 'to rise, dawn, shine' we may connect *ues-* 'to be.' In Skt. *vāsati* the meaning 'dwell, abide' prevails, and this meaning is also in Goth. *wisan*, and is implied in Skt. *vāstu-* 'dwelling,' Gk. *ἄστυ* 'town,' and others. It is probable, therefore, that 'dwell' did not develop through 'rise, become, be'; but that continuance in time arose from continuance in space. Thus if we say: 'He went on thus for a long time'; we mean continuance in time. Similarly from the root *q^{*}el-* 'move,' Skt. *car-* is used in the sense 'continue' (doing a thing), and Gk. *πέλωμαι*, primarily 'move, go,' with the force 'continue to be,' and finally simply 'to be.' Compare also Lat. *vīvō* 'live'; 'last, endure'; 'dwell, be'; and *versor* 'move about, dwell, remain, be.'

c. As the same root as the above I regard *ues-* 'to clothe.' This develops through the intermediate step 'throw, throw about.' Words were originally neutral in tint, and might be used to express a certain idea from any point of view. Thus we may say: 'He shot the arrow toward the mark'; 'The arrow was shot toward the mark'; 'The arrow shot toward the mark.' In like man-

ner we may suppose that most IE. roots vaguely expressed a given idea, and were made to render a specialized meaning according to need. So Gk. βάλλω 'throw' is frequently used meaning 'to put on' clothes or armor, though the root *g^{*}el-*, from which it came, means also 'spring forth, swell, flow.'

d. To the root *yes-* 'spring forth' probably belongs also Skt. *vāsáyati* 'cut,' i. e. 'cause to spring forth or off.' All these roots may be written *y-es-* and referred to the root *ey-*, *u-*, as Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 877, does in the case of *y-es-* 'to clothe.' For a further discussion of the root *ey-*, cf. author, *Jour. Germ. Ph.* I, 302 ff.

e. OHG. *wisunt*, OE. *weosund* 'bison' represent, I believe, an IE. **yēsnt-*. The Gk. βίσων, Lat. *bison* would seem to indicate Germ. **wisund* rather than **wesund*, but this is probably due to a Gothic source. The stem **yes-nt-* is to be referred to the root *yes-* in its secondary sense 'bright, reddish.' The same root gave Skt. *us-rá* 'steer,' from *us-rá* 'reddish.' With Skt. *usrá* are connected, according to Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵ s. v. *Auer*, OHG. *ūr*, OE. *ūr*, ON. *ūrr*, from pre-Germ. **us-ró-*. This explanation of Kluge's is made more certain by the plain connection of pre-Germ. **yes-nt-*, OHG. *wisund* with Skt. *us-rá*.

16. Goth. *waldan*, OE. *wealdan*, etc., 'wield, rule, guide' come from IE. **y_l-tō* (—*to* rather than *-dhō* on account of ON. pret. *olla*, with *ll* < *lp*) and with these have been compared Lith. *valdýti* 'wield, guide, rule,' OChSl. *vlady* 'govern,' and OIr. *flaith* 'dominion.' The simpler form of the root from which these have sprung would naturally be *yēl-* or *yē-*. The root *yēl-* *yē-* occurs in Gk. εὔλη-ρα, αὔλη-ρον, ἄβλη-ρα 'reins, bridle,' Lat. *lō-rum*. (See Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 317.) The same root is also in Gk. πέλλυ-τρον 'foot-thong' from **πεδ-λυτρον* (**f_lυ-τρον*). Id. ib. I², 529. This **f_lυ-τρον* may be explained as coming from **y_l-tro-m*, id. ib. I², 260.

17. Eng. *weld*, *wold* 'reseda luteola,' Mid. Eng. *welde*, OE. **weald*, Du. *wouw*, from the Germ. stem **walda-* may represent the IE. stem **y_ltō-*. The very same stem may

be in Lat. *lūtum* 'weld,' (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I³, 260.) With this exact agreement in meaning and phonetics there can be no doubt about the connection of *weld* and *lūtum*. Here perhaps belongs also Gk. ἀλσίνη, an unknown plant, from **u̯lt-inā*.

18. A similar correspondence between Lat. and Germ. is seen in Lat. *lustrum* 'forest, marsh,' from **u̯lts-tro-*, and OHG., OS. *wald*, OE. *weald*, ON. *vøllr* 'forest,' from **u̯ól-tu-* or **u̯l̥-tu-*. Gk. ἄλσος 'grove,' which Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*³, s. v. *Wald*, connects with the Germ. word, may be explained as **φαλτσος* < **u̯ltsos*. Compare also ἄλτις 'the sacred grove of Zeus at Olympia.' These words may be reduced to the root *u̯el-* 'spring up, grow,' and therefore meant primarily 'an overgrown place.' To the same root belongs Gk. λάσιος 'shaggy, bushy,' from **φλατιος*, which is compared by Lidén, PBB. 15, 521 f., with ON. *lundr* 'grove' < **lundī-* < IE. **u̯l̥-ntī-*. This stem is a derivative of the pres. part. of *u̯el-*, while OHG. *wald* is from the *to*-part. of the same root. Gk. ἄλσος, if it belongs here rather than to OChSl. *lěsŭ* 'forest' (Pedersen, IF. 5, 56), presupposes a stem **φαλτ(ε)σ-*, which corresponds to the stem from which Lat. *lus-trum* is formed.

The roots *u̯ēl-*, *u̯l̥-* in nos. 16, 17, and 18 are probably one and the same. The development was perhaps 'wave,' 'turn,' 'spring up,' 'grow.'

19. Goth. *luftus*, OHG., OS. *luft*, OE. *lyft*, ON. *lopt* 'air' have been compared with ON. *lopt* 'loft,' and there the etymologists stop, and yet, in their discussions, they quote the very words which suggest the origin of this Germ. word for 'air.' That 'air' was not the primary signification is evident from ON. *lopt* 'loft,' from which *lypta* 'lift,' Sw. *lyfta*, Eng. *lift*, Ger. *lüften*. Germ. **luftu-* denoted, therefore, that which is above, aloft, raised up, hence 'sky, heaven, air, loft.'

This Germ. root *luft-* is an extension of the IE. root *luṑ-*, in MHG. *lūpfen* from **luṑpjan*, **luṑn-*. This word Kluge defines 'los machen und dann in die Höhe heben,' and suspects for it connection with *Läufel*, *Lauft* 'shell,'

OHG. *louft* 'shell, bark'; Lith. *lupinat* 'fruit peelings,' *lùpti* 'to peel, pare,' Pol. *lupina* 'hull.' We may further refer to the same root *lup-*, Goth. *laufs*, OHG. *loub*, etc., 'leaf.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *laufs*.

A derivative of the same root is probably ON. *lyf* 'medicinal plant,' OE. *lyf*, OHG. *luppi* 'poison, sorcery,' Goth. *lubja-leis* 'skilled in witchcraft.' This Germ. stem **lubja-* < **lupiō-* is in formation a *iō*-adj. to **lauba-* < **loupō-* 'leaf, plant,' and hence meant 'made, prepared from leaves,' and so 'infusion, decoction' for medicine, poison or sorcery.

With Lith. *lùpti* Brugmann, *Grd.* I³, 454, compares Gk. *λέπω* 'peel,' under the assumption that *lup-* came from *lp-*. If this is admitted, we must suppose that Germ. *laub-* has a secondary ablaut. This is quite possible. Germ. *lauba-* 'leaf' must be connected with a Germ. verb corresponding to Lith. *lùpti*. The present of this verb, on the supposition that it is related to Gk. *λέπω*, would be **lubō*. Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I³, 470 f. This verb would naturally fall into the second ablaut-series, and derivatives therefrom might, of course, have any of the vowel-grades of this series.

The root in the form *lep-*, *lop-* occurs also in Gk. *λέπος*, *λοπός* 'bark, shell, husk,' Lith. *lāpas* 'leaf,' and perhaps also *lepūs* 'delicate' (primarily 'stripped'?). Here possibly belong also MHG. *lap* 'sour fluid,' OHG. *lab* 'broth,' which Kluge connects with ON. *lyf*, etc. OHG. *lab*, in that case, went through the same development of meaning as ON. *lyf*, etc. To OHG. *lab* in the secondary signification 'fluid' may belong *labōn* 'wash, refresh,' OE. *gela-fian*. Or they may have meant primarily 'rub,' and be more directly related to the root *lep-*. Compare also Lith. *lempù* 'to be dainty, effeminate,' *lepūs* 'delicate.'

20. Another example of a similarly developed secondary ablaut occurs in OHG. (*h*)*riot*, OS. *hriod*, OE. *hrēod* 'reed.' These I connect with Goth. *haurds* 'door,' ON. *hurð*, OHG. *hurt* 'hurdle, wicker,' Lat. *crātēs*, Gk. *κρυτία* 'wicker-work,' *κάρταλος* 'basket,' etc. These have been

referred to Skt. *kṛṇátti* 'spin, turn,' *cr̥táti* 'bind, fasten.' We may suppose that this root *qṛt-* occurred in Germ. as **hurđ-* and **hruđ-*. For such double forms cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 470¹, and for the secondary ablaut **hreuđ-* cf. the root *leuq-*, Gk. *λευκός*. etc., id. ib. 260.

21. In OHG. *tiuri*, OS. *diuri*, OE. *dēore*, *dyre*, ON. *dyrr* 'dear, costly, beloved' and OHG. *trūt* 'dear, beloved,' from Germ. **drūda-*, we perhaps have a double development of an IE. root *dh̥yer-dhey-*. That is, OHG. *tiuri* is from IE. **dhey-īo-*, while *trūt* is from **dhuṛ-tó-*. This is exactly parallel with ON. *prūðr*, OE. *ðryð* 'strength,' Lith. *tvirtas* 'firm' < **tuṛtos*, from the root *tyer-* in Lith. *tveriu* 'hold,' Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 260. From OHG. *trūt* Kluge surmises that MHG. *trüte* 'demon, nightmare' may be derived, *Et. Wtb.*⁶ s. v. *Drude*, supposing that the name was given on the same principle as in Gk. Eumenides. It is more probable, I think, that the primary meaning of the root was 'heavy,' from which developed the various significations 'costly, dear'; 'nightmare,' i. e. an oppressive spirit.

22. No one, so far as I know, has ever attempted to connect Goth. *liugan* 'lie' and *liugan* 'marry.' Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁶ s. v. *Lug*, says: 'Zu dieser gemeingerm. Wz. *lug* (idg. *lugh*) "lügen" hat got. *liugan* (Prät. *liugaida*) "heiraten" keine Beziehung; dieses gehört mit afries. *logia* "heiraten" vielmehr zu altir. *luige* "Eid" (Grdf. *lughio-*). Mit unserem *lügen* gehören vielmehr aslov. *lŭžq* (*lŭžati*) "lügen," *lŭža* "Lüge" als urverwandt zusammen.' Outside of Germ. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *liugan* 'lie,' compares also OIr. *logaissi* gen. 'mendacii,' *follugaim* 'conceal' (**vo-lugō*). With *liugan* 'marry' he doubtfully connects OHG. *urlugi* 'war.'

Now all these words may be referred to a root *leugh-*; and it seems more probable to me that a single root may have developed in meaning along diverging lines than that two phonetically identical roots should be entirely unrelated. If then we can find a common meaning from which the various significations could spring, we may

feel reasonably certain that Goth. *liugan* 'lie' and *liugan* 'marry' are related. Such a meaning is 'bend.' This readily gives words for 'wrong,' 'deceive' and the like. Thus: Lith. *lankóju* 'bend back and forth': OChSl. *lākajā* 'cheat, deceive'; OChSl. *luditi* 'cheat,' Goth. *liuts* 'hypocritical,' *lutōn* 'deceive': OE. *lūtan* 'bow, sink down.' The 'wrong' is regarded as that which deviates from the 'right' or 'direct.' Goth. *liugan* 'lie' is therefore easily derivable from a root *leugh-* 'bend.'

Again to 'bend' or 'twist' anything comes to mean to 'tie' or 'bind' it. How closely these two ideas are related is seen from Eng. *bend*: *bind*. From 'bind,' then, develops 'marry.' Compare also Gk. *λυγίζω* 'bend': Goth. *ga-lūkan* 'shut,' primarily 'fasten.' (V. infra.)

Goth. *liugan* 'marry' meant primarily 'bind'; OIr. *luige* 'oath' was a 'bond'; and OHG. *urliugi* 'war' denoted a condition 'outside of the league or treaty.' Notice also that Lat. *foedus* 'league' is used of the marriage contract.

With the root *leugh-* 'bend' I should connect the synonymous root *leug-*. This connection may be explained according to Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 633 f., or the two roots may be regarded as extensions of a basal root *leu-*. To *leug-* belong Gk. *λύγος* 'a pliant twig,' *λυγίζω* 'bend, twist, wrestle,' *λυγόω* 'bend, fasten,' OHG. *loc*, OE. *locc* 'lock, curl,' Lith. *lūgnas* 'pliant' (Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 384, Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *λυγίζω*), ON. *lykna* 'bend the knee,' OE. *lūcan*, OHG. *liohhan* 'pull, scuffle' (cf. Gk. *λυγίζω* and Lat. *luc-tor*), Goth. *ga-lūkan* 'shut, enclose,' *us-lūkan* 'unlock, draw' (sword), ON. *lūka*, OE. *lūcan*, OHG. *-lūhhan*, etc. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ga-lūkan*.

From the above it is plain that this Germ. word for 'lock' meant primarily 'bend, twist,' and hence 'fasten,' and was used originally of wicker doors, or at least of doors or gates fastened with withes. It was the word that would naturally be used with Germ. **hurđi-* 'hurdle, door.' On the other hand, OHG. *stiozan* 'close,' Lat. *claudō* was primarily 'fasten with a bolt,' Lat. *clāvus*, OHG. *sloz* 'bolt.'

It is quite possible that the roots *leugh-* and *leug-* are from a simpler root *ley-*, which may be the same as that of Skt. *lu-nāti* 'cut off,' Gk. *λύω* 'loose, separate,' Goth. *lun* 'ransom,' etc. The primary meaning of this root we may assume was 'separate from'; for from this we may derive the significations of most words containing a root *ley* +. Some of the possibilities of this root are the following :

Gk. *ἐλεύθω* 'bring,' *ἐλεύσομαι* 'I shall come, go,' *ἐλεύθερος* 'free' (i. e. 'separated'), Skt. *rōdhati* 'grows,' Goth. *liudan* 'grow.' The root *leudh-* expresses intransitively the idea of separation or departure from any point, whether outward or upward.—Lith. *liudėti* 'mourn,' OChSl. *luditi* 'cheat,' OE. *lūtan* 'bow, sink down,' Goth. *lutōn* 'deceive,' from the root *leud-* 'bend, bow.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *liuts*. The meaning 'bend,' from which we start in this group and in the root *leugh-* above, may have developed as follows: 'separate'; 'deviate'; 'bend'; 'bow'; or: 'separate'; 'cause to move'; 'bend'; 'bow.'—Skt. *lūbhyati* 'go astray, be lustful,' Goth. *lufs* 'dear,' Lat. *lubīdō*, etc. The idea of desire arises from that of motion as in Skt. *lōla* 'moving hither and thither,' and hence: 'desirous of, greedy.'—Lith. *lūpti* 'peel off' (i. e. 'separate the outer covering'), Goth. *laufs* 'leaf,' from the root *lup-*, may, as far as its meaning is concerned, easily come from the root *ley-* 'separate, cut off.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *λόπη*. But on account of Gk. *λέπω* 'peel' it is perhaps better to explain the root *lup-* as coming from *lp-*, Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 454.—In like manner the root *leuq-* 'shine,' if not connected with Skt. *vārcas-* 'splendor,' may be from the root *ley-*. In that case the primary meaning of *leuq-* would be 'peeled, stripped, bare,' and hence 'clear, bright.' To such a primary meaning point Lith. *laūkas* 'field, open space,' Skt. *lōkās* 'open space, world,' OHG. *lōh* 'grown over clearing,' Lat. *lūcus*; OChSl. *lysŭ* 'bald.'

23. Goth. *stubjus*, OHG. *stuppi*, *stoup* 'dust,' *stioban*, LG. *stuiven* 'stieben,' Mod. Ger. *stöbern*, MHG. *stöuben* 'beat up, chase' probably come from a root *stēy-p-*, which

belongs to the same family as *steub-*, *steud-*, *steug-* discussed by Ehrismann, PBB., 18, 215 ff. The meanings required for the words connected with Goth. *stubjus*, etc. are 'beat, thrust, drive.' These are still implied in Mod. Ger. *stieben*, *stöbern*. Now the same root *stěj-p-* 'beat, strike' occurs in Lat. *stupeō*, *stupor*, Gk. *τύπ-τω* 'strike,' and these we may compare with Goth. *stubjus*.

The meanings appearing in this group are such as are found in connection with other roots from which have developed words for 'dust, smoke,' etc. Compare Goth. *dauns* 'vapor, odor,' OHG. *toum* 'steam, odor,' Skt. *dhūmá-* 'smoke,' Lat. *fūmus*, from the root *dhū-*: ON. *dyja* 'shake,' Skt. *dhūnōti* 'shakes, moves,' Gk. *θύω* 'storm, rage.' OE., OHG. *stincan* 'give out an odor, stink': OE. *stincan* 'whirl up,' ON. *stökkva* 'to spring, rush,' Goth. *stiggan* 'thrust, strike,' Lat. *stinguō*, etc. The above examples are given in the *Et. Wtb.* of Uhlenbeck, who, though finding no difficulty in connecting Goth. *dauns* with Skt. *dhūnōti*, is doubtful about comparing OE. *stincan* 'exhale' and Goth. *stiggan* 'strike,' where the development is almost identical. Kluge also is in doubt here, though having before him OHG. *stoup* 'dust' and MHG. *stöuben* 'to chase.' In fact, these are the very meanings that one should expect to find connected with words for 'smell,' 'smoke,' etc. The trouble is that most etymologists look at words from the modern standpoint, and not from the historical. Connections that may not seem natural to our view were entirely so to our IE. ancestors. Inward emotions and perceptions were expressed in terms of outward appearances. The pro-ethnic man said 'it exhales, it smells' before he said 'I smell.' Hence any word meaning 'rise, burst forth, break out' or 'whirl, eddy,' etc. might give a word for 'steam, vapor, smoke' and then 'to exhale, to smell.'

To the same root *stey-p-* may belong the Germ. stem **stübō-* 'heated room,' OHG. *stuba*, OE. *stofa*, etc. From the simpler root *stey-* compare also OE. *stēam* 'steam.'

24. In the same line of development belong OE. *rēocan* 'smoke, reek,' ON. *rjúka* 'smoke, exhale,' OHG. *riohhan*

'smoke, exhale, smell,' *rouh* 'smoke, steam,' OS. *rōk*, etc. I find only one comparison made with this group outside of Germ. and that is Alb. *rē* 'cloud' from **rougi*, Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 197. Bugge compares OE. *sweccan* and *rēocan*, but these can be left out of consideration, and we may regard the IE. root as *reug-*. This root should mean 'exhale' or something from which 'exhale' could come. This root and this signification we find in Lat. *ruc-tō* 'to belch up' and 'to emit,' e. g. smoke, *ē-rūgō* 'belch forth,' *ē-ructō* 'belch forth, emit, exhale,' (e. g. '*flammas, vaporem, fumum*,' Just. 4, 1, 4) *ē-ructātiō* 'exhalation'; Gk. *ἐρεύομαι* 'belch, emit,' used of the splashing and foaming of the ocean against the land, of the emptying of rivers, of Aetna, in Pindar 1, 40: *ἐρεύονται παραλὸν πύρος*; Lith. *rūgiu*, OChSl. *rygaja se* 'vomit'; OHG. *it-ruchen* 'to ruminate.' Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 202, 433, 581. This entire group may be referred to the root *rey-* 'to break,' for the further discussion of which compare Jour. of Germ. Phil. I, no. 4.

Of the connection between the Germ. root *reuk-* 'smoke, exhale, smell' and the IE. root *reug-* 'belch forth, emit,' I think there can be no doubt. Notice especially Lat. *ē-ructātiō* 'exhalation,' in which the meaning is the same as in Germ. The common meaning is 'break forth, emit.' In Germ. this gave 'emit, exhale, smoke, smell'; in Lat. and Gk. 'emit, exhale; belch, vomit.'

25. For Goth. *pwahan*, OS. *thwahan*, OHG. *dwahan*, OE. *pwēan*, ON. *pvā* 'wash' no connection has been found outside of Germ. except OPrus. *twaxtān* 'bath-brush.' For derivatives of the same root in Germ. see Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *Zwehle*. If cognates are to be found in other IE. languages we must look for the root *tyek-*, *teyk-*. This need not in another language mean 'wash.' It may mean 'rub, scrub' or something similar. Thus *rub* and *scrub* may mean 'wash.' So Lat. *tergō* 'rub off': 'cleanse'; *terō* 'rub': 'cleanse'; OIr. *faiscim* 'press': OHG. *wascan* 'wash,' Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵

A root *tyek-*, for which the meaning 'rub, strip off' may be assumed, occurs in Skt. *tvác-*, *-tvacas-* 'skin, hide,' Gk.

σάκος 'shield.' For a similar development compare OS. *wri-tan* 'cut, wound, write,' Gk. ῥι-νη 'file, rasp': ῥι-νός 'skin,' Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 1052; Gk. δέρω 'tear off, skin': δέρμα 'skin, hide'; Gk. κατα-σκένη 'kills,' OHG. *scintan* 'flay': ON. *skinn* 'skin,' Persson, *Wz.*, 76, 134; OE. *sceran* 'shear': Lat. *scor-tum* 'hide,' Noreen, *UL.* 205.

Now the meanings 'rub' and 'strike' are so near, as may be seen from Eng. *strike*: Ger. *bestreichen*; OE. *smītan* 'smite': Goth. *bismitan* 'besmear,' and many others; that we may further connect OChSl. *is-tukati* 'sculpture,' Gk. τύκος 'chisel.' Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 687. Possibly here also belongs the nasalized root *tuēnq-* in OHG. *dwingau*, ON. *puīnga* 'to press,' with which Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 311, compares Gk. σάπτω 'to pack, press down,' σηκός 'pen, stall.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. σάπτω.

This root *tuē-q-* I regard as an outgrowth of the root *tū-*, *teyo-* 'swell.' The interchange 'swell': 'strike' is a common one. Cf. OHG. *quellen* 'swell': Gk. βάλλω 'throw, strike,' and others.

The root *teyo-* occurs in Goth. *þwastīpa* 'firmness, safety,' which, according to Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.*, is 'unexplained.' And yet a satisfactory explanation is at least indicated by Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.*, s. v. σάος and σόος 'safe.' Goth. *þwastīpa* 'firmness, safety' and *ga-þwastjan* 'strengthen, confirm' presuppose an adjective **þwasts* 'strong, firm, secure,' whose stem, written in IE. form, would be **tūos-to-*. This is a *to*-derivative from an *es-*, *os-* stem, like Lat. *hones-tu-s*, *angus-tu-s*. This noun-stem **tūos-* 'strength, firmness' is identical with Skt. *tavás-* 'strength,' which, in the weak grade *tūs-*, appears in 'thousand,' Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 506.

The various meanings of this group are closely connected. Compare, from the same root *tū-*, Lat. *tumēō* 'swell': Av. *tūma* 'strong.' The development is: 'swell,' 'be big,' 'strong,' 'firm,' 'brave,' etc. Similarly, Gk. βρύω 'swell': βαρύς 'heavy, weighty, strong, firm, immovable, honest.'

The simple root *teyo-* occurs also in Goth. *piup* 'good,' from **téy-to-m*, with which Johansson, PBB., 15, 238, compares Lat. *tūtus* 'safe.' This, it will be seen, has developed the same meaning as Goth. **pwasts*. Further also in Goth. *piuda* 'people,' from **teñ-tā*, cf. Hirt, PBB., 21, 133. Goth. *piuda* 'people' has developed from *teyo-* 'swell, grow' just as MHG. *liute* 'people' from *ludh-* 'grow,' in Goth. *liudan*, etc.

To the root *tyo-s-* probably belongs also OHG. *thwesben* 'to extinguish, destroy,' perhaps primarily 'overpower,' from the stem **tyos-bho-*.

26. Goth. *rōhsns* 'hall,' which translates the Gk. *αὔλη*, probably meant primarily 'an enclosure.' The stem may be divided *rōh-sni-*, and the root connected with Lith. *rakinti* 'to close,' *rāktas* 'key,' Gk. *ἀρκέω* 'ward off,' Lat. *arceō*, *arx*, *arca*. The root-variation here is *xy*: *yx*. For many more examples of the kind, compare Noreen, *Urg. Lautl.* 88 ff and Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 492 f.

For meaning compare Goth. *alhs*, OS. *alah*, OE. *ealh* 'temple,' similarly connected with OE. *ealgian* 'to protect,' Gk. *ἀλαλκεῖν* 'ward off.' Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *alhs*.

Ablauting with Goth. *rōhsns* and reducible to the same root is *ga-rēhsns* 'counsel, design,' with which have been connected *ragin* 'opinion, judgment, decree, advice,' *raginōn* 'to govern,' *rahnjan* 'to compute,' OChSl. *rekq* 'say,' *rokū* 'term,' Skt. *racāyati* 'arrange, set up, prepare, effect.' To the same root may belong Goth. *bi-rēks* 'endangered,' perhaps from **rēqnó-*, meaning primarily 'enclosed, beset.'

The root of this group of words may be set down as *erēq-* with the ablauts *arq-*, *rēq-*, *rōq-*. The synonymous root *elēq-* appears similarly in Lith. *elkas* 'grove,' Goth. *alhs* 'temple,' Gk. *ἀλέξω* 'ward off, help,' Skt. *rākṣati* 'defend, govern, save.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *alhs*, and Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 1021. The ablaut *lōq-* is possibly in OHG. *luogēn*, OE. *lōcian* 'to look,' from *lōq-*, *lōqn-*, Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 384. The meaning 'look' comes from 'guard, watch,' a natural and not uncommon development. Compare Goth. *warjan* 'forbid,' OE. *werian* 'pro-

tect, defend,' Goth. *war* 'wary': Gk. *ὁράω* 'see'; Eng. *watch* 'to guard': 'to look at'; Lat. *observō* 'guard': 'view'; and so many others. Phonetically and in meaning it is therefore safe to add OE. *ealgian*, 'protect,' Gk. *ἀλ-αλκεῖν* 'to ward off' *ἀλέξω* 'ward off, defend,' Skt. *rákṣati* 'defend, keep, guard': OHG. *luogēn*, OE. *lōcian* 'to look.'

The primary meaning from which this group of words developed was probably 'set limits, stake off.' From this come 'enclose, guard, protect' or 'enclose, restrain, prevent' or 'mark off, arrange, set in order, compute, plan,' etc. In each language the development was slightly different, but there are several interesting overlappings of these different significations. For example, Goth. *raginōn* 'to govern' is more directly connected in meaning with Skt. *racáyati* 'arrange' or with Lat. *arceō* 'restrain' than with *ragin* 'advice.' Lat. *arceō* is also used in the sense 'set in order, govern,' in the expression '*arcendae familiae gratia*.' And Gk. *ἀρκέω* might be translated by Skt. *racáyati* in the expression *ἔργα ἀρκέσας* 'having accomplished deeds,' Soph. *Aj.* 439. Moreover, Skt. *racáyati*, Gk. *ἀρκέω*, and Lat. *arceō* are formally similar.

27. A similar root-variation occurs in Goth. *ga-wargjan* 'condemn,' OS. *waragean* 'to torment,' OHG. *wergan* 'condemn, curse,' Goth. *wargipa* 'condemnation,' *-wargs*, OHG. *warg*, OE. *wearg*, OS. *warag*, ON. *vargr* 'criminal': and Goth. *wrōhjan* 'accuse,' OS. *wrōgian*, OE. *wrēgan*, etc. In signification these two sets of words may certainly be compared, and there is no phonetic difficulty. The pre-Germ. root was, therefore, **ǵr-k-*, **ǵrē-k-*.

The meaning 'accuse, condemn' probably came from 'drive, press upon,' and we may further compare the root **ǵrē-g-* in Goth. *wrikan* 'persecute,' ON. *reca*, OE. *wrecan*, OFrs. *wreka* 'drive, wreak,' OS. *wrecan*, OHG. *rahhan* 'to punish, wreak.' Here also belong ON. *rākia* 'drive away,' pret. OSw. *vrōk*, with which Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 148, compares Gk. *ρήγ-νῦμι*, *ἔρρωγα* 'break, broke.'

Goth. *ga-wargjan* may, of course, contain the root **ǵergh-*, and be connected with Lith. *vārgas* 'need, trouble,' OPrus.

wargs 'bad,' etc. Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *wargipa*. So too Goth. *wrikan* may be connected with Gk. *εἴρω* 'shut in, ward off,' Skt. *várjati* 'turn, turn aside, twist off.' This connection, however, does not exclude the one given above, nor connection with OE. *wringan* 'wring,' Goth. *wruggō*, etc.

The meanings of all the words in this group are from 'turn, twist,' and the basal root is *ṽēr-* 'turn.' Hence the development: 'turn in or out,' therefore 'enclose' or 'exclude'; 'turn aside, drive away'; 'twist off, break'; and the various secondary meanings therefrom.

Goth. *ga-wrisqan* 'to bear fruit,' ON. *roskenn* 'grown,' *roskna* 'to grow' is from a verbal stem **ṽrēksq*o-*, which appears in Skt. *vr̥çdāti* 'hew off,' *vr̥açcanam* 'a hewing off,' OChSl. *vraska* 'a rent, wrinkle.' Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 293 f. The difference in meaning—'grow': 'hew off'—has doubtless deterred any one from making this connection before. But this difference is very easily explained. The stem **ṽrēksq*o-* or **ṽroksq*o-* meant 'a hewing off' in Skt. *vr̥açcanam*. It could mean equally as well 'that which is hewn or plucked off'; 'fruit.' For this development compare Lith. *kerpù* 'I shear,' Skt. *kr̥pāna-s* 'sword,' Lat. *carpō* 'pluck,' OHG. *herbist* 'harvest,' Gk. *καρπός* 'fruit,' *καρπῶν* 'bear fruit.' (Id. ib. 570.)

In like manner Goth. *ga-wrisqan* 'to bear fruit' has the meaning of the noun stem, is in fact properly a denominative verb. In ON. *roskenn* 'grown' the meaning is generalized. For the disappearance of the palatal, compare OHG. *forskōn*.

The root upon which this verb and noun stem is built is in Gk. *ῥάκος* 'rag.' (Id. ib. 294.) This *ṽrk-*, *ṽrēk-* is probably the root assumed above for Goth. *wrōhjan*. Compare especially the verb *ῥάσσω* < *φρακίω* 'strike, smite, push,' which gives the meaning from which 'accuse, condemn' could come.

Others have compared Goth. *ga-wrisqan* with Welsh *gwrysg* 'branch,' Skt. *vr̥kṣá-* 'tree.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *gawrisqan*.) As these words may be referred

to the root in Skt. *vr̥ṣṇāti*, the etymology is substantially the same as the one I give above. But the Goth. verb is undoubtedly connected directly with the Skt. verb, with the development in meaning indicated above.

28. MHG. *schelme* 'pest, sickness; those fallen in battle,' and also 'knave, rascal,' OHG. *scalmo*, *scelmo* 'plague,' from the stem **skalmjan-*, in all probability come from the root *sqel-* 'cut, cleave.' From this develops 'pestilence' as in Gk. *πληγή*, Lat. *plaga* 'blow, wound, plague.' This is the secondary meaning, while in 'those fallen in battle, the slain' the primary meaning appears.

29. As far as the form is concerned, to the same root might belong Goth. *skalks*, ON. *skálkr*, OHG. *scal*, OE. *scealc* 'servant,' MHG. *schalc* 'servant; a servile or deceitful fellow.' These words belong rather to the same root as in Eng. *skulk* 'sneak'; 'a number of foxes,' Icel. *skollr* 'fox,' Dan. *skulke*, Sw. *skolka* 'to shirk'; and also OHG. *scelah* (gen. *scelhes*, *scelawes*), OE. *sceolh*, ON. *skjalgr* 'oblique, awry.' Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *scheel*, where Gk. *σκολιός* 'crooked, bent' is also given. These I am inclined to refer to the root *s-ḱel-* 'to lean, bend.' Goth. *skalks* < **skol-go-s* would then primarily be 'a cringing fellow,' a meaning which fits very well in the further development of the word. Or the word may have been applied to a servant as 'one who bends over his work.' For other possible connections with Goth. *skalks*, cf. Hempl, Jour. Germ. Ph. I, 342 ff.

30. Another Germ. word for servant is OHG. *enke*, stem **ankjan-*, Wilmanns, *DGr.* § 186, 3. This is probably connected with Lith. *ėngiu* 'ich thue etwas mühsam und schwerfällig,' *nu-ėnkti* 'abquälen, abtreiben,' *ingis* 'Faulenzer,' Brugmann, *Grd.* I, 584. These belong perhaps to a root *eng-* 'to bend,' from which probably come OHG. *ancha* 'neck,' MHG. *anke* 'ankle; neck,' NHG. *anke*, OHG. *anchal*, ON. *ḡkkla*, OE. *ḡnclēow*, OHG. *anchlāo* 'ankle,' Skt. *anga* 'limb,' *angūri-ṣ* 'finger,' *angusṭha-*, Av. *angusta-* 'toe.' Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. Enkel, and Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 274.

The root *ang-* may be regarded as a by-form of *anq-*. For this interchange see Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 630, and for words belonging to this root, Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *halsagga*, and Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵ s. v. *Angel*.

Strange to say, neither Kluge nor Uhlenbeck refers to this root OHG. *angar* 'grass land, meadow,' NHG. *anger*, ON. *eng*, *enge* 'meadow,' though this connection is found in Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. ἀγκών. Compare especially Gk. ἄγκος 'valley,' which was probably the meaning of the Germ. word. This is the same as Skt. *ánkas* 'bending, curve.' Compare also Gk. ἀγκών 'bend' of any kind, as 'a bent arm,' 'elbow,' 'jutting angle' of a wall, 'promontory,' 'bend' of a river. In phonetics and sense the connection of OHG. *angar*, ON. *eng* with Gk. ἄγκος, ἀγκών, Skt. *āṇcati*, etc., is entirely unimpeachable. For a similar interchange of meaning, compare Gk. θόλος 'vault,' OChSl. *dolŭ* 'hole, ditch': Goth. *dal* 'valley'; Skt. *vāṇcati* 'go crooked': Goth. *waggs* 'meadow, paradise'; Gk. κάμπω 'bend': Lat. *campus*; Lith. *lėnkti* 'bend': *lankà* 'valley.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *waggs*.

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